1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OXf

the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands, but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See Pl. 1.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While *popoi* made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more European than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cooking utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally affected by eighty years of white dominance.

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, according to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of them today may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceedingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind. The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko,* influenza, and many other minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way protected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. 11.)

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

existence of reefs around the islands made it necessary that all fishing on a large scale should be deep sea fishing, rather than shallow water fishing such as was practiced in the Tuamotus, Tahiti, and Hawaii. Indeed, one who has become acquainted with the ruggedness, the stupendous rock structure and the unprotected coasts of these islands cannot help feeling that much that distinguishes the natives of the Marquesas and their culture from the peoples and cultures of other groups in Polynesia—the square solidity of the men, certain characteristics of hardness and aggressiveness in their natures which contrast strikingly with the softness of other Polynesians, the quantity and massiveness of their stone construction, their heavy, square featured images, and their strong, bold arts of wood carving and tattooing—is a direct result of the nature of the islands in which they lived. The environment is massive, strong, and vigorous: the people and their culture are to be characterized by the same terms.

SETTLEMENT

Six of the islands of the group were, and still are inhabited regularly: Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa, Ua Pou, Ua Huka, and Nuku Hiva. Three others, smaller islands, were visited and possibly inhabited at times: Mohо Tani, Fatu Uku, and Ei Ao. These will be discussed briefly after the description of the larger inhabited islands. It is certain that the six regularly inhabited islands were thickly populated. The proof of this lies in the fact that house platforms are to be found even in the most unadvantageous regions, both on the coast and inland, wherever conditions of soil and rainfall were such that food could be grown. Any attempt at determining the number of inhabitants at the time of discovery is necessarily based on guesswork. I believe that one may say with certainty, however, that the density of the population in the Marquesas was equal to the maximum that could be supported by agricultural and fishing industries of the primitive order practiced by the natives. In other words, the natives had lived in their islands long enough to populate them fully. Density of population, however, never brought about any development of intensive agriculture. Estimates made by early voyagers vary greatly, and, being all theoretical, seem scarcely worth giving here. Quiros (25, pp. 19, 26), who discovered the three southern islands in 1595, testifies to the density of population at that time. Judging from the estimates of early writers and their descriptions of the numbers of people seen in the various valleys which they visited, from personal acquaintanceship with the country at the present time, and some knowledge of the number and distribution of the house sites, it may be said with a fair amount of certainty that the population was certainly not under fifty thousand, and not over one

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

●161 hundred thousand. It is probable that it fluctuated between these two extremes, being reduced considerably at times of severe drought and [731] famine—Garcia (14, p. 125) cites an historical instance—and being recuperated gradually to its maximum during the intervening times of plenty.

Traditional Evidence of Settlement

173 No evidence was found among natives living today of any knowledge of immigration into the group by their ancestors, nor of occasional arrivals of small groups of individuals. The route by which the first settlers probably came, as indicated by traditions, is shown on the map (fig. 1), together with the contrary direction of the ocean currents and prevailing winds.

No direct evidence of any knowledge of the coming of their ancestors to the islands is to be found among the natives living today. According to Porter, however, there was a tradition of a god named Haii, who is said to have arrived at Ha'a Tuatua Bay on the east coast of Nuku Hiva, bringing chickens and pigs. The people did not know whether this person came in a ship or a canoe, nor could they tell how long he remained among them. The time of his arrival was said to have been more than twenty generations prior to Porter's visit. Estimating on the basis of twenty-five years to a generation, this reckoning would indicate that Haii, if he were a real, and not merely a legendary character, visited Nuku Hiva something over five hundred years prior to Porter's visit in 1813. The same writer was told also that the coconut was, according to legend, brought by a god named Tao, who came from an island named Utupu (Ootoopoo), which was supposed to lie somewhere to the windward of Fatu Hiva (La Magdalena) (24, pp. 91-2). [1]Porter was apparently not told how many generations ago this was supposed to have been. This is the only direct evidence I have that indicates any conception on the part of the natives of the arrival in their islands of immigrants or visitors from the outside world prior to European contact.

There is, however, indirect evidence, that proves the ancient Marquesas islanders to have had a knowledge of other islands and regions in Polynesia. The Nuku Hiva story in which Pepeiu's voyage is recounted indicates a knowledge of the existence and location of Rimatara, Tubuai,

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[1] It is my belief that this story is due to mistranslation of a simple reply. If one pointed to a coconut tree, or a coconut, and asked a native whence it came, he would reply, "*U tupu no i ao*," it grew (or grows) from below. Porter's island "Ootoopoo" may, therefore, merely mean "it grew"; and the god Tao may even be a misspelling of *i ao*.

A [i.e., the population. - Analyst]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

that I should insist on being paid for the trouble they might put me to. They informed me they had an abundance of fruit and hogs, and would be willing to sacrifice the whole to purchase my friendship, if I should conquer them. Seeing that these strange people were resolutely bent on trying the effect of their arms against ours, I thought that the sooner they were convinced of their folly, the better it would be for themselves and us, as it would relieve us from the constant apprehension of an attack from them; and I believed it likely, that by giving them timely notice of our intentions, they would avoid coming so near as to permit our muskets to have much effect. Indeed it became absolutely necessary to do something; for the Happahs present informed me that their tribe believed that we were afraid to attack them, as we had threatened so much, without attempting any thing; and this idea, I found, began to prevail among those of our valley, which is called the valley of *Tieuhoy*, and the people *Havouhs*, *Pakeuhs*, *Hoattas*, &c. For the valley is subdivided into other valleys by the hills, and each small valley is inhabited by distinct tribes, governed by their own laws, and having their own chiefs and priests.

The tribes residing in the valley of Tieuhoy are in number six, and are called collectively Taeehs, which signifies friends

The number of warriors, which each tribe can send into the field, is as follows:

The Taeehs - - - - - :	2,500
Happahs - - - - - -	3,000
Maamatuhahs - - - -	2,000
Typees - - - - - -	3,500
Showneus - - - - -	3,000
Hatticahs - - - - :	2,500
Wooheahos - - - - -	2,500
Tatuahs - - - - -	200
Making in all - - - - - - - - -	19,200

Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, &c. &c advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly dispatched with spears and war-clubs, and carried off in triumph. They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

161 My endeavours to ascertain with accuracy the population of the island were fruitless: from comparing, however, Roberts's account with what I could observe myself, I judged that the south side of it contained about four thousand inhabitants. 1804. May.

142 The natives are a handsome and well-made people; the men especially, who are tall and strong-limbed. The commonalty are of a dark complexion, with straight black hair. The nobility are much fairer.

304 Tatooing is so much in fashion here, that there is not an individual without some marks of it. Many were covered all over with different figures, some of which displayed much taste. The king, however, surpassed all his subjects in this kind of embellishment. His body was so completely figured, that scarcely the smallest spot of the natural colour of his skin could be perceived. To be thus perfectly tatooed, is a business of great [465] expense; the masters of the art expecting to be paid handsomely for their work. The practice of tatooing appeared to me very ridiculous at first; but when accustomed to it, those who had the most figures I thought the most comely. It is astonishing that women, who are in all countries so fond of beautifying their persons, do not tatoo themselves here; except with a few lines on the lips, round the perforation in the ears, and on the hands.

291 There is hardly any clothing worn by these people. The men 304 have sometimes a sort of towel round the waist, but in general they go quite naked. Mr. Langsdorff has said, that circumcision is universal among them. So far from this being the case,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

174 to a few valleys where, in the absence of reinforcements, they would eventually have been wiped out or would have merged with the native population.

A glance at a map of the Pacific (*fig.* 1) will show that in spite of their comparative immunity from attack the Marquesas are by no means isolated. The Tuamotu chain links them with the Society Islands on the south, and widely scattered islands to the northwest connect them more remotely with Hawaii. Small groups of castaways who had been driven out of their course must have arrived in the Marquesas from time to time and probably met with a friendly reception. There are numerous records of such involuntary voyages in other parts of Polynesia which show that great distances were sometimes covered in these drifts and influences from western Polynesia and even from Micronesia may have reached the Marquesas in this way. The Marquesans themselves made long voyages, some of which are said to have extended as far as Rarotonga with stops at others islands en route. They were not conservative and their natural mechanical ability made them quick to recognize the value of new appliances. It is probable, therefore, that the historic culture of the Marquesas was a blend of the culture of the two groups of early settlers plus a few features which had been introduced from widely diverse sources.

167 It seems certain that the population of the Marquesas had reached its saturation point before the time of the first European contact. Even the smallest and least hospitable valleys contain stone house-platforms, while the remains in the more favored localities indicate a dense population. Although the increase was checked somewhat by constant inter-tribal wars, the pressure had become sufficiently acute to lead to a resumption of organized expeditions in search of new lands. According to Porter (49, p. 93) the emigrants took with them domestic animals and plants in preparation for the founding of a new colony, and sailed under the direction of priests. The magnitude of the exodus may be judged from the fact that Porter's informant, Wilson, told him that, to his knowledge, eight hundred men, women and children had left the group in this way, none of whom had ever been heard of afterward. At least one of these emigrant groups is known to have established itself in an island of the northern Tuamotus, but the greater part probably sailed on westward into the empty ocean until they perished.

● 161 The various early estimates of the population of the Marquesas have been collected by Clavel (12) as follows: Cook, in 1773, estimated 50,000 for the Southern Division alone, giving 100,000 for the whole group. Krusenstern, in 1804, gave 16,000 for Nuku Hiva alone on the word of a resident European, but considers 12,000 as more probable. This would mean about 50,000 for the whole group—an estimate Clavel considers the best. Porter, in 1813, gave the popu-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

lation of Nuku Hiva as 80,000 which is obviously an impossible number. During the early part of the nineteenth century the population declined rapidly as a result of diseases introduced by the European whalers. Du Petit-Thouars, in 1838, estimated the population at 20,000; Houan, in 1856, gave 12,500 as the grand total, and an actual census at the time of Clavel's visit in 1883 showed 4,865. Since that time the decline has been steady but less rapid, the present inhabitants numbering about 3,000, many of whom are Chinese or European half-castes. These half-castes are more resistant to disease than the pure-blood natives and through them the language and fragments of the culture will probably be preserved for several generations. The survival of the pure native stock is doubtful, although in 1920 the natives of the island of Ua Pou, who were only slightly mixed, were holding their own, and those of Ua Huka showed a slight increase in number. The most rapid decline is in the southern islands where intensive European contact is more recent. On one of these islands, Tahu Ata, there are said to be nearly a hundred deaths to every birth. The influenza epidemics, so destructive in Polynesia, did not reach the Marquesas.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND RELIGION

An account of the religion and social organization of the Marquesas is given by Handy (32), but a resume is necessary as a background for the present study of material culture.

The natives were divided into a great number of tribes which were for the most part mutually hostile. As a rule each of these tribes occupied a single valley, but several of the larger valleys were occupied by two or more tribes who often fought among themselves, although they usually united against outsiders. Thus in the valley of Tai-pi Vai, rendered famous by Melville's narrative, "Typee," there were three groups of people. One group occupied the head of the valley; a second, the middle; and a third, the lower end. The hostility between these groups was so strong that even after their ostensible conversion to Christianity it was necessary to build a church in each section to prevent fights during religious services. No governmental unit larger than the tribe existed, but there appear to have been shadowy confederacies of several tribes, who combined for action in case of hostilities from other tribes. In Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa at least, there were still larger dual divisions, comprising the eastern and western halves of these islands. The only approach to centralized power appears to have been in the island of Ua Pou, where the inhabitants of one valley had extended their sway over all the other tribes, but even here the autonomy of the conquered groups does not seem to have been seriously interefered with.

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The story of the Marquesan population is the story of the Hawaiian and other Polynesian populations. From the data in Table I, supplied to me by Handy, it will be seen that in the course of the last 150 years the estimated population has shrunk from about 100,000 to less than 2,000. Handy says:[1]

> The condition of the health of the modern Marquesan is most distressing. I speak without exaggeration when I say that I doubt if there is a wholly sound physical specimen of a Marquesan alive. The principal diseases that are rampant are leprosy, syphilis, elephantiasis, a very rapid wasting pulmonary tuberculosis called *pokoko*, tubercular trouble in the throat, glands, and intestines, and deep ulcers and carbuncles. Dental caries is common.

In view of the theories of a Caucasoid origin of the Polynesian peoples it is likewise very desirable to keep clearly in mind the possibilities and probabilities of modern intermixture.

> From 1800 to 1838 there were only a few deserters from whalers. In 1838 the Catholic missionaries arrived and the French took possession of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and Ua Huka. A small French colony with a maximum population of 100 was established. The white population probably never exceeded 100 in the whole group. Today it consists of about a dozen Catholic fathers and sisters and about twenty others. In 1880 a group of Cantonese Chinese were brought into the islands. It is probable that there were never more than 100 in the islands. There are now about thirty. Native women used to marry freely with the Chinese but the intermarriage ceased about ten years ago. The reason for the number of part Chinese today is not the number of Chinese immigrants, but the fact that the half-Chinese are sturdy, healthy, and good breeders. They resist the diseases that take off the natives and half whites.

Another point of interest is Handy's statement to the effect that the Marquesans are very accurate in remembering ancestry and as a general thing showed neither desire to conceal nor to boast of white blood if they had it. It is not a matter either for pride or shame. The amount of unadmitted modern white blood in our series is very probably negligible.

TABLE 1.—THE POPULATION OF THE MARQUESAS

DATE OF CENSUS	ESTIMATED POPULATION
1. Prehistoric:	Estimated to have been between 50,000 and 100,000, fluctuating with periods of plenty and famine.
2. 1773:	Cook estimated 50,000 for three southeastern islands. About 100,000 for the entire group.
3. 1804:	Krusenstern estimated 16,000 for Nuku Hiva. About 50,000 for entire group.
4. 1838:	Dupetit-Thouars estimated 20,000 for the entire group.
5. 1856:	Jouan estimated 12,500 for entire group.
6. 1867:	Lawson manuscript gives 7,411 for entire group.
7. 1884:	Clavel estimated 4,865 distributed as follows:

[1] Personal communication.

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

	Men	Women	
Nuku Hiva	524	456	
Ua Huka	105	84	
Ua Pou	196	180	
Fatu Hiva	321	318	
Tahu Ata	260	260	
Hiva Oa	1,116	1,045	
Total	2,522	2,343	4,865

8. 1905: Pacific Islands Pilot gives 3,500.
9. 1922: Estimated roughly at 1,800.

Method

All measurements were taken in accordance with the regulations of the International Agreement. In outline the measurements were as follows:

Anthropometric characters

1. Stature: recorded to the nearest centimeter (shoes removed).
2. Shoulder height: same position as in 1.
3. Arm length: acromion to tip of middle finger.
4. Height sitting.
5. Arm reach or span: maximum.
6. Head length: glabella to opisthocranium.
7. Maximum head width.
8. Minimum frontal diameter.
9. Maximum face width: bizygomatic.
10. Bigonial diameter at the angles of the mandible avoiding as much of the muscles as possible.
11. Anatomical face height: nasion to gnathion.
12. Nasal height: nasion to subnasal.
13. Nasal width: alare to alare avoiding pressure.
14. Physiognomic ear length or height.
15. Physiognomic ear breadth.

Indices

16. Relative shoulder height $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 2} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 1}} \right.$
17. Relative arm length $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 3} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 1}} \right.$
18. Relative sitting height $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 4} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 1}} \right.$
19. Relative arm reach or span $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 5} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 1}} \right.$
20. Cephalic or length-breadth index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 7} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 6}} \right.$
21. Transverse fronto-parietal index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 8} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 7}} \right.$
22. Transverse cephalo-facial index $= \left\{ \frac{\text{Measurement No. 9} \times 100}{\text{Measurement No. 7}} \right.$

/5 cont./
the workmen were not at all suspicious of the note pad in this context, for all writing was ostensibly for the recording of archeological data. There was a generally relaxed and easy atmosphere among the men; and much less boasting of sexual prowess was noted at such times, for the group usually handled extravagant claims in a rather unkind fashion. Naturally, the presence of certain individuals precluded discussion of their respective female relatives for all practical purposes, but the shifting composition of the work crew made it possible to fill in gaps in the data resulting from such propriety. 123 521 [126]

The information obtained by these methods was cross-checked whenever possible by use of additional informants, replication of the interview or, in the cases where the source of data was overhead in conversations, simply by leading the conversation back toward the same topic. My wife, working almost exclusively with women, obtained information that complimented the data I had obtained with their husbands, thus providing additional cross-checks on informant reliability. 124

In summary, the attitudes of the native culture and the fact that my main interest was in an area completely divorced from sexual behavior necessitated a reliance upon observation and monitoring of conversation for most of the data presented here on the more intimate aspects of sexual behavior. Direct questioning was possible only on topics such /6/ as childbirth techniques, menstruation, concepts of procreation, ethno-medicine related to sexual activity and behavior of younger children. 123 124

Population

The most recent census data on the Marquesan population is given on p. 63 . As these data were collected in 1956, allowance must be made for some slight growth during the 4 years which have elapsed since then. 161 ●

The breakdown of the population in the table is derived from official records in the archives of the Circonscription des Iles Maruises at Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. Despite the apparent [127] [114]

/6 cont./

detail, some caution must be exercised in using these data to determine the amount of miscegenation which has occurred. These figures for individuals of mixed ancestry only represent those which are readily apparent or are first generation descendants of marriages between Polynesians and non-Polynesians. Furthermore, these figures represent only the results of legitimate or at least widely-known unions. 161 114

Unfortunately, a breakdown of these figures as to the proportions of the sexes is not available, but information on this point was obtained from the previous (1951) census which showed that population was composed of 50.4% males and 49.6% females. The porportions of children to adults in 1951 was: adults, 39%; children, 61%. 162

/7/

The Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The state of pregnancy (vehine kopu tama) is diagnosed by the obvious physiological changes: cessation of menstruation, changes in breast size, and swelling of the stomach. The role of semen in impregnation is quite well understood. After coitus, women who are attempting to become pregnant will lie on their backs, drawing up their knees to facilitate the flow of the semen (teatea) into the uterine opening. The role of the female in procreation is naturally not so clear. It was stated by one informant that the semen combined with vaginal fluids to produce a child. 843 842

Much folklore surrounds the relationship of menstruating (mate meama) to chances of impregnation. It is widely believed that the best part of the menstrual cycle of achieving conception is that period immediately following the cessation of the menstrual flow, while the period for avoiding conception is described as the days midway between menstrual flows. This erroneous division of the menstrual cycle into "safe" and "unsafe" periods was often attributed to information obtained from a fundamentalist Protestant missionary couple who resided [797] 841 842

/79 cont./ 164 175
crew (1596) got on so infamously with the natives that it is difficult to see how there could have been too much chance to transmit the diseases to the native population. It is almost certain, however, that the diseases were present among Mendana's crew, as they had come from Peru and Chile where venereal diseases were endemic among the population.

In 1791 Marchand (p. 113) reported that his crew showed some symptoms of venereal disease after leaving the bay in which Mendana had stopped /80/ nearly 200 years earlier. However, with the diagnostic techniques at their stage of development in 1791, it is quite possible the crew members in question might have been afflicted with some nonspecific urethritis, resembling a venereal infection.

This explanation is all the more likely in view of the statements given to Krusenstern in 1804 by an English deserter who had resided in both northern and southern groups of the archipelago for a number of years previous. This individual declared that there was no venereal disease present at that time. It was probably shortly after that the diseases were introduced by whaling crews who flocked to the islands in the early years of the nineteenth century. The American occupation of Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, ensured that the diseases were firmly implanted on Nuku Hiva. By the time of the French occupation in 1840, venereal disease had so spread among the breeding population that sterility was a very common phenomenon (Garcia 1843).

Discussion and Comparisons

A. Population

Estimates of the maximum aboriginal population of the Marquesas have been very confusing, as most European visitors to these islands saw very limited segments of the population of one or two islands, and then made estimates for the populations of those islands which in turn were used by later writers as the basis for further extrapolations, yielding "estimates" of the 161 174

/80 cont./
entire archipelago census. An example of such /81/ extrapolations is shown in the compilation of Fr. Simeon Delanas, a French missionary in the Marquesas who wrote extensively on Marquesan culture and natural history:

Year	Source	Population
1595	Mendana	55,000
1791	Marchand	32,000
1804	Krusenstern	70,000
1813	Porter	230,400
1838	D'urville	25,000
1843	du Petit Thouars	20,200

To the other extreme are the extremely conservative estimates of the population such as that made by Linton (1938, p. 150) in which he stated that tribes rarely consisted of more than 1000 people.

On the basis of extended archeological studies, historic documents and legendary evidence discussed at length elsewhere (Suggs 1960, Suggs 1961), it appears that the peak population of the archipelago was between 100,000 and 125,000 and was reached in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

After the beginning of continual European contact about 1790, and especially following the French occupation of 1840, the population dwindled rapidly due to the introduction of children's communicable diseases, social diseases and tuberculosis. Firearms aided and added to the anarchy resulting from the collapse of the native political system. /82/ Furthermore, there is evidence of a very severe, prolonged famine in the early nineteenth century that may have wiped out as much as one-third of the population.

Soon after French contact, some attempts at census-taking were made and provide us with certain data illustrating the rapid decline of the population up to the turn of the century.

Source	Date	Total Population
Jouan	1856	12,550
des Vergnes	1872	6,045

/82 cont./

Source	Date	Total Population
Clavel	1882	4,865
Administration Census	1897	3,800

Throughout this period of decline, the birth rate, of course, failed to even approach the death rate. According to an unsigned Ms in the archives of the French administration in Taiohae, dating from 1894, the death rate at this time had been 4 per 100 inhabitants while the birth rate was 1 per 725. During the years 1888 to 1893, considered by the author of the Ms, an annual loss of 148 inhabitants had been sustained. It was further pointed out that the actual birth rate was considerably lower than the figure of 1 per 725 as many infants died soon after birth, and the number of survivors was only about 1/4 of the actual births. Moreover, abortions were extremely frequent, especially in the first months of pregnancy, but no data could be obtained on the actual /83/ number because of lack of native cooperation in reporting information believed to be insignificant.

The native population declined in this fashion throughout the early 1920's reaching its nadir about 1925, when the entire archipelago had approximately 2,000 inhabitants.

While the native population declined, contacts with Europeans and representatives of other races increased. These came from a variety of sources:

a. Sailors of all nationalities appeared in the Marquesas, especially as a result of the whaling industry and trade with the Far East. In 1803, Krusenstern found two white sailors already established in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. This is especially interesting in view of the fact that the island had only been discovered some 6 years previously by Ingraham of Boston. In 1813, Porter found additional white deserters as did Shillibeer, one year later. The thin stream of deserters swelled during the first decades of the nineteenth century, with the result that by 1838 when French missionaries arrived, sailors "on the beach" constituted a sizable and troublesome group in all the major valleys. Among the deserters, by that

/85 cont./

At present on the island of Nuku Hiva (pop. ca. 980), there are only 4 individuals who can lay any claim to pure Marquesan ancestry. Some 13 others have made attempts to pass themselves off to visitors as being 'enana toitoi -- true Marquesans --, but their mixed ancestry is revealed with little inquiry. 162 144

Complete data on the ratio of male to female in the population were not available to me. However, enough data exist to show that the ratio has held fairly constant during a period of unusual flux in the past. 162

In the period between 1882 and 1897, during which the population dropped by about 12 per cent, the male-female proportions of the population were as follows: [175]

/86/

Year	Male	Female
1882	51.21%	48.79%
1897	52.01%	47.99%

The same source displays the remarkable effect of the lowered birth rate on the population as a whole by the proportions of adults to children (assumed to be those of 20-plus years and less than 20, respectively, as frequently appears in other French records). 163 175

Year	Adults	Children
1882	76%	24%
1897	76.50%	23.50%

This accounts for the top-heavy appearance of the Marquesan population, as recorded by many observers around the turn and the first decades of the twentieth century, in which many valleys contained nothing but adult inhabitants.

Further data are available for the period between 1897 and the 1951 and 1956 censuses. In the 1931 census, the population of the northern Marquesas, comprising the islands of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou and Ua Huka, numbered 1206. Of these, 51% were male, 49% female. Although these data are not for the entire population of both northern and southern groups, they can be said to represent a valid sample. 161 175 [162]

The data available for calculating birth and death rates were less complete than those used for total population and 163 165 175

/86 cont./

sex ratios. No information of this type was given with the 1951 or 1956 censuses. Data of the 1932 census was available, however, for comparisons with that of the nineteenth century. In 1934 there were some 5 births per 100 population, while only 2.7 deaths occurred per 100. In 1942 a slight drop had occurred, but the figures were still close: 4.6 births per 100; 2.9 deaths per 100.

Aside from the fact that the Marquesan population is definitely expanding quite dramatically again, there are a number of facts which /87/ stand out in comparing the above data with that of the present day. Since 1883, the birth rate has reversed itself in relation to the death rate, while the overwhelmingly adult character of the nineteenth century population has given way to one equally as overwhelming in its youthfulness. (It should be noted, however, that much of the increase is due to a disproportionate growth of the population of Ua Pou. On that island the local missionary constantly admonishes his flock of their procreative duties under church law, with the result that the population of Ua Pou now slightly outnumbers that of Nuku Hiva, although Nuku Hiva is some 3 times as large in surface area. This increase in population is somewhat surprising when one considers that the Ua Pou population was only 55% as large as that of Nuku Hiva in 1931, but by 1936 had risen to 73% of Nuku Hiva's population, and by 1946 had attained 91% of the population of Nuku Hiva.

Further, the demographical data presented above conflict strongly with undocumented statements made by Linton (1939) on Marquesan population. His view that tribes rarely exceeded 1,000 people in size (p. 150) does not stand in the light of a large body of archeological data, demonstrating the existence of populations considerably in excess of that figure for most of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva as well as the other islands in the archipelago.

Linton's claim that there were 200 deaths for every

/108 cont./
aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women. 182 838

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present). 178 835 [582] [604] [606]

At present, the same general categories of relationships are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency. 178 835 605 [161]

There is no historical or ethnographic data available from other sources on practices involving sexual relations with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play. 839 [538] [773]